

2004 report by Amnesty International estimates that more than 1,300 people were wrongfully imprisoned between 1989 and 2004; and there were an estimated 1,600 political prisoners in 2005, 38 of which were elected members of Parliament.

The U.S. State Department and two NGOs have confirmed that torture and rape are being used as weapons of war. A report issued in 2002 by The Shan Human Rights Foundation and the Shan Women's Action Network documents 173 cases of rape and sexual violence involving 625 girls and women. The study points out that 61 % were gang-rapes and that 25% of these girls and women died, some of whom were detained and repeatedly raped for up to four months. A report released by Refugees International in April of 2003 also documents cases of rape. These crimes are largely targeted at ethnic minorities, including the Shan, Mon, Karenni, and the Karen.

Testifying before the House Committee on International Relations earlier this year, Human Rights Watch advocacy director Tom Malinowski stated that, "Government armed forces continue to engage in summary executions, torture, and the rape of women and girls. This campaign can only be described as ethnic cleaning on a very large scale. Hundreds of thousands of people, most of them from ethnic minority groups, live precariously inside Burma as internally displaced people."

A CBO report estimates that supporting this legislation could cost the U.S. \$500,000 in 2006 and \$1 million in 2007. It is likely that there will be economic costs on the other end as well, and not just for those in power. So while it is understandable and even necessary to take action in opposition of the current military regime and to condemn their oppressive rule and blatant abuses of human rights, we should explore other methods to express our disapproval and impose sanctions. We must be careful that our actions do not oppress the innocent who are caught up in this ongoing struggle.

So I urge my colleagues to support H.J. Res. 86, but I also ask that we devise additional ways to assist the people of Burma, ways that may not entail economic backlashes. Over the years we have seen situations like this arise and escalate and we have watched with shameful apathy as millions have perished or fallen victims to unspeakable physical, sexual, and emotional violence. And here we are again with another opportunity to act or be apathetic. Let us not squander it under the cover of feigned ignorance. We are all aware now. Let us not get selective amnesia by confining our thoughts to tangential concerns of a lesser gravity, for history will not forget when we stand idly by while these people suffer, scream, and die. Instead, let us free Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi, and free those for which she remains confined.

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Florida (Mr. SHAW) that the House suspend the rules and pass the joint resolution, H.J. Res. 86.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the joint resolution was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. SHAW. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous materials with regard to H.J. Res. 86.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

#### SPECIAL ORDERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 2005, and under a previous order of the House, the following Members will be recognized for 5 minutes each.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. EMANUEL) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. EMANUEL addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

#### THE OCCUPATION OF IRAQ

Ms. WOOLSEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to speak out of order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the gentlewoman from California is recognized for 5 minutes.

There was no objection.

Ms. WOOLSEY. Mr. Speaker, on March 1, 2003, the United States stopped fighting a war in Iraq and became the occupants of Iraq. That was when the U.S. occupation began.

March 1, 2003, is the day that President Bush, speaking under a huge banner with the words "Mission Accomplished" declared major combat operations in Iraq had ended. At that moment, the United States military should have left Iraq.

Military commanders and policy experts advised the President, but he failed to grasp that deploying hundreds of thousands of soldiers to Iraq and invading Baghdad would be like sticking your hand in a beehive and trying to remove it without getting stung.

Even the President's father, President George H.W. Bush, agreed on this point. That is why during the first Gulf War during 1991, he stopped short of having the U.S. military actually enter Baghdad.

If we had left after, according to the President, the "mission" had been "accomplished," we could have prevented the deaths of over 2,400 American soldiers. More than 18,000 others wouldn't have returned home with life-changing injuries, and thousands of others wouldn't suffer from severe psychological trauma as a result of fighting a war halfway across the world. And countless thousands, tens of thousands

of innocent Iraqi civilians who have been killed might still be alive in Iraq.

The last 3½ years since the President's "mission accomplished" speech have been unsuccessful in all ways in Iraq. This war has drained America's coffers of nearly \$400 billion, money that could have been used for underfunded programs right here at home, like addressing key homeland security needs, providing health care to all Americans, giving all American children a first-class education.

This war has diminished America's role as an international leader. Our role and our image have suffered great damage as a result of our involvement in Iraq. We are even less safe here at home, and Iraqis are less safe in Iraq than before the United States invaded Iraq.

It is actually the very presence of 150,000 American soldiers in Iraq that has enraged and dissatisfied the people of the Arab world.

Mr. Speaker, this is not a war; this is an occupation. The Pentagon and the White House have turned our troops into occupiers against their will, placing them in an absolutely impossible situation. This is not what they were trained for. Soldiers can win a war, but how do they win an occupation? An occupation is by its very nature unwinnable. There is no winning; all you can do is come home.

The President does not seem to understand this truth which is made very clear in comments he makes like "we will accept nothing short of total victory in Iraq"; or "we will stay in Iraq until the job gets done."

Mr. Speaker, the American people understand that there is no such thing as "getting the job done in Iraq" because it is not a job, it is an occupation. What Congress needs to do is take back the powers it gave to the President more than 3 years ago. It is time to rescind the legislation that gave him the authority to use force in Iraq. And while we are at it, let's do the right thing for our soldiers, their families and the entire country: end the occupation.

The least we can do for our troops is thank them for their service and bring them home to their families.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. OSBORNE) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. OSBORNE addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

#### BORDER SECURITY

Mr. POE. Mr. Speaker, I request permission to take Mr. OSBORNE's time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the gentleman from Texas is recognized for 5 minutes.

There was no objection.

Mr. POE. Mr. Speaker, the State of Texas is a little richer today. But the

money found along our border was not American money; it was money from the Middle East. A Sudanese dinar was found not too long ago along the Texas-Mexico border.

This type of money is a whole lot more dangerous because it brings with it someone carrying this money.

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Someone that came into the United States obviously illegally from the nation of Mexico. The Sudanese dinar was discovered on our border, a clue that could have been easily lost among the trash trails illegal invaders from around the world leave behind.

But unlike most, the person carrying that dinar may not dream of a better life in the United States. He probably didn't come to the United States looking for work. He could covet death and a whole lot of it.

The threat of illegals infiltrating America is not just a threat to our economic security, it is a threat to our national security.

Now, so many OTMs, in the vernacular, Other Than Mexico, are coming into the United States, especially into Texas the, terrorist threat increases. These people come from all over the world. They come from China, they come from Korea, they come from the Middle East. They come from Africa, they come from South America and they come from Europe.

During recent national security hearings, clear and convincing evidence was released showing that the dark and deadly underground, created and thriving on human trafficking and on drug smuggling, is now diversifying into terrorism. Reports indicate that al Qaeda operatives have moved to Mexico, have assimilated into the population, have learned Spanish, and they are studying the culture and they are posing as Mexican workers. They create an illusion, then they wait, make their way to America. All the while, the hatred in their hearts is anything but phony. They know illegal entry allows them to live here and remain untraceable. It is the very freedom that they want to destroy. They will use that against us to infiltrate and weaken our Nation.

For almost 5 years now, Mr. Speaker, we have been hunkering down, our eyes really turned north to Canada, the country that has long been touted by some as the de facto entry point for illegals. All the way terrorists could easily be sneaking through our back door, the southern border into the United States. They could pose as a day laborer, a blue collar worker, moving, then plotting undetected in the shadowy night and the broad daylight, among the people willing to break laws to earn money to send home.

These are people who are willing to break into our country, our country. These are criminals who are bent on evil with hearts full of malice and mischief. They act in the name of radicalism and destruction and hatred.

Mr. Speaker, we may have terrorists living among us. You have heard the

phrase, "It's not if, but when." Failure to protect our borders, failure to prevent OTMs from entering the United States puts America at risk.

Then continuing this absolute absurd policy of capturing these OTMs from other countries and then telling them, on their oath, they need to come back to court for their deportation hearing, is absurd. We are not shocked that over 90 percent of them never return, but yet they are released into the heartland of the United States.

This nonsense needs to stop. We need to find places for those who have decided to enter our country illegally, hold them and detain them until they get quick deportation hearings, then send them home where they belong.

The duty of our government is to protect the citizens of this Nation. We protect the borders of other countries. We need to protect our own border. Border security is a national security issue. And we must have the moral will to protect the dignity and sovereignty of this Nation. And that's just the way it is.

#### SOCIAL SECURITY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MCCARTHY) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mrs. MCCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, we are hearing once again that there are rumors going around that in January, when we come back and there is a new Congress, depending on who is in control, that we are going to be looking at privatizing Social Security again. We understand that the Republican Party wants to make it their top priority. The American people have already said "no" to this shortsighted plan. The money and trust fund belongs to the people who put it there, and they are entitled to guaranteed benefits. They don't want to use this money to gamble on the risky stock market.

Those in favor of the Republican plan say that privatizing is the only way to save Social Security. Granted, the fact that people are growing older does mean Social Security needs to be strengthened. But in reality, Social Security can be saved with small changes, and we have time to make sure we do it right.

As it stands today, the Social Security trust fund will begin taking in less in payroll taxes than it pays out in benefits in 2018. That is 12 years from now. But even if Congress doesn't act, the Social Security surplus won't be exhausted until the year 2040. That is 34 years from today. And the worst case scenario is that 74 percent of benefits would still be paid.

If the Republican plan is enacted next year, they won't be able to guarantee benefits in 2008, let alone 2040.

In addition, these projections are based on an anticipated lower rate of productivity and economic growth than the U.S. has experienced during the last 20 years. If the U.S. maintains

its current economic growth or grows at a faster rate, the trust fund surplus will expire at a later date.

While I believe Congress needs to act soon, we don't need to do it in haste. Instead of radically changing our retirement safety net, we should follow the lead of former President Reagan. In 1983, President Reagan appointed a commission headed by Alan Greenspan and saved Social Security for the next 60 years.

I urge President Bush to put aside his dreams of privatizing and do the same. Many Republicans won't want to hear this, but President Reagan's commission raised payroll taxes to save Social Security. But I believe we can come up with a better solution today. There is a middle ground between raising taxes and privatizing. Let's put our experts to work on finding this middle ground and creating a stronger Social Security.

Everybody accepts that Congress needs to act to strengthen Social Security for the next generation of seniors. But any plan that cuts guaranteed benefits is a nonstarter. It is a nonstarter because the centerpiece of the Republican plan, to privatize portions of Social Security does nothing to address the program's long-term challenge, which is to make sure Social Security can pay full benefits for future generations.

Privatizing means less money going into the Social Security trust fund. The President's plan means fewer benefits for more retirees. The President has yet to disclose how he would pay for this plan. Conservative estimates price the plan at over \$2 trillion, driving the country deeper into debt and burdening future generations with the bill.

With our current national debt, a multitrillion dollar expenditure would almost certainly rely on selling bonds to foreign countries for financing. I am not comfortable with China, Japan and the European Union controlling the purse strings of our retirement benefits, and neither are the American people.

We should encourage individuals to invest money for retirement, but this should be done outside of Social Security. Social Security was never intended as the only source of income for retirees. It was designed as a safety net to ensure no retiree or disabled person falls into poverty. We simply cannot bet the future of Social Security on a risky privatizing scheme.

Mr. Speaker, let's not make a hasty decision on Social Security that we will live to regret. People have to understand that Social Security is a lifeline for so many of our seniors. When we look at today, the people that are working at minimum wage, when we look where we see pensions not really being there for the American people, we need to certainly make sure that Social Security is there. Widows with children, it is the difference between being able to stay in their home, feed their children or becoming homeless.